

Copy House May 2. 1741
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Mr. Douglas
Mr. Puriar
Mr. Sten
Mr. Vincent
Mr. Ben

R E V I E W
Of the LATE
M O T I O N
FOR AN
Address to his Majesty
Against a CERTAIN
G R E A T M I N I S T E R,

And the REASONS for it;
With some Remarks upon the MINISTER'S
Speech, in Defence of Himself.

To which is Added
A short Address to the Electors of GREAT
BRITAIN, at this critical Conjunction.

Great Britain
By a Member of Parliament

By a MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT.

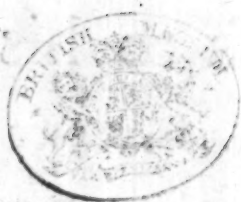
L O N D O N,

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W E I E

NOTION



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THE SECRETARY OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

LONDON

(S. 10. 22)

A
 REVIEW
 Of the LATE
 MOTION
 FOR AN
 Address to his Majesty
 Against a CERTAIN
 GREAT MINISTER, &c.

THE foolish and insolent Triumphs, which have been made upon the Defeat of a *late Motion*, and the repeated Misrepresentations of the Case have been so industriously propagated, according to usual Custom, through the whole Kingdom, that it becomes highly necessary to give the Publick a true Account of the Grounds and Facts, which occasion'd it, without Fear on *one Side*, or Favour and Partiality on the *other*.

When I have done This, I will leave the World to judge whether it was not honestly concerted, and prudently conducted. I wish it had been as well supported by Numbers *within Doors*, as it was generally applauded *without Doors*; for I am not ashamed to own that I was one of the *Minority*, who join'd in this Charge.—Let Those, who sneak'd upon that Occasion, answer it to the World and their own Consciences.

It was moved in the House, *Feb. 13, 1740.*
 “ that an humble Address be presented to his Ma-
 “ jesty, that He will be graciously pleased to remove
 “ the Right Honourable Sir *Robert Walpole*, Knight
 “ of the most noble Order of the Garter, first Com-
 “ missioner for executing the Office of Treasurer of
 “ the Exchequer, Chancellor and Under Treasurer
 “ of the Exchequer, and one of his Majesty’s most
 “ Honourable Privy Council, from his Majesty’s
 “ Presence and Councils forever.”

The Charge was begun with our *foreign Nego-*
tations, the Manner of conducting them, and the
 Consequences they have produced. In doing This,
 We need go no higher than the Treaty of *Hanover*.
 One of the Objections to the Treaty of *Utrecht*
 was, that it left *France* too strong, and the *Emperor*
 too weak. — The *grand Alliance* was form’d to
 support our last glorious War, as it actually did,
 to the immortal Honour of our Country. The
 chief Object of it was to reduce the exorbitant
 Power of *France*, and to raise That of the House
 of *Austria*, for the Preservation of the *Balance of*
Power in Europe, as well as the Protection of *this*
Nation and its Allies; which was allow’d to be the
 natural Interest of this Kingdom even after the
 Treaty of *Utrecht*, as appears to Us by the Ar-
 ticles of Impeachment against the late Earl of *Ox-*
ford, deliver’d by the *right honourable Gentleman*,
 who was the Subject of the late Debate, for leaving
 the *Emperor* too weak in *Italy*, by giving *Sicily* to
 the Duke of *Savoy*, and likewise by the Treaty of
London, in the Year 1716, sign’d by the *same ho-*
nourable Gentleman; and the Necessity of our en-
 gaging for the Preservation, if not the Increase of
that Power, in Consequence of *those Acts*, gave Oc-
 casion to the Destruction of the *Spanish Fleet* in
 the *Mediterranean*, in the Year 1718, and to the
 Quad-

Quadruple Alliance, founded on the Support of the *same Plan of Power*, and *Balance of Europe*; which was the publick and avow'd Principle of all our *foreign Transactions*, till We were deluded by *France* to join with Her in that fatal and unhappy Step of the *Hanover Treaty*, which laid the Foundation of all the Mischiefs and Misfortunes, that have since happen'd.—Whilst the Duke of *Orleans* was living, a Connection with *France* was the less dangerous, and perhaps not impolitick, since the *Duke Regent* lay under a personal Necessity of depending upon *Us* for his Succession there, in Case the present King of *France* had died without Issue-Male, as much as We could depend upon Him for securing the Establishment of the *present Royal Family*, which was then recently advanced to the Throne of *Great Britain*. But the Moment He was dead, this Policy ceased, and We should have changed our Measures, by uniting Ourselves strictly with *some other Powers* more naturally in our Interest. Instead of This, We not only continued in the closest Union with Them, under the new Ministry and Government of *France*, but by that pernicious Treaty of *Hanover* They held Us as it were in Leading-Strings, and carry'd Us afterwards through a long Labyrinth of intricate Treaties, delusive, dangerous, and many of them contradictory to one another; which, if We were foolishly honest enough to observe with *good Faith*, We found Ourselves under a Necessity of acting against our most essential Interests, weakening Ourselves and our Friends, and strengthening the Hands of our Enemies; or if, on the other Hand, We consulted our Interest, We shamefully gave up our Honour. To this fatal Dilemma were We brought, at our first setting out. Had our Ministers acted with Dexterity and Address, there
never

never was a more favourable Conjunction for laying the Foundation of a lasting Division in the House of *Bourbon*, and the Union of *Spain* with the House of *Austria*. We should have rejoiced at the Incidents, which gave Occasion to it, and have taken the proper Advantage of them, instead of being frighten'd at the Bugbears of our own Imagination in the *first Vienna Treaty*. But We were driven by our panick Apprehensions of *this Treaty* into that most senseless Project of the *Hanover Treaty*, the fatal Source of *French Power*, which is since become so formidable to all *Europe*.

—*This Treaty* was founded upon a *new Plan of Power in Europe*, unheard of in this Nation before; I mean the Reduction of the exorbitant Power of the House of *Austria*, which hath been too fatally pursued for the true and antient Interest of *this Kingdom*, though too successfully for *Those*, who have conducted our Affairs to that End.

The *late Emperor*, and *other Powers of Europe* being charged with a Design of placing the *Pretender* on the Throne, in Consequence of a *non-ostensible Treaty*, immediately and solemnly protested against it, upon their Imperial and Royal Honour. Time hath since sufficiently shewn the fallacious and chimerical Imposition of this Charge, which at first Sight seem'd to be design'd only for Amusement; since the Hypothesis laid down was the Necessity of reducing the House of *Austria*.

When the *Ministers* had taken this Step, They justify'd it by the most unaccountable System of Politicks, which was ever devised; *that France was grown too weak, and the Emperor too strong and formidable*; *that Power was fluctuating, and some new Balance was necessary*; *that the Emperor ought to be humbled*; *that though We had once lent Him an helping Hand, We ought not to let Him do what*

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He pleased; that it was good Policy when We set Him up, and that it was now as good Policy, for his Ingratitude, to pull Him down. — Is it not almost incredible that such Sentiments as These could have ever been vented, or ever prevail in this Country? — And yet who of Us have not heard *these wise Maxims* urged as good Policy? — I will undertake to produce these Notions, and many more to the same Purpose, dispersed in all the Writings and Speeches in Parliament, on the Side of the *Administration*, at that Time.

If therefore the Destruction of the House of *Austria*, and consequently the *Balance of Power in Europe* was really meant, They have acted like *wise Men*, and *able Politicians*, steadily pursuing their View, and have at Length effectually compass'd it. *His Majesty* cannot be insensible of This. The present threatening Dangers to his *own foreign Dominions* are too full a Proof of it. The *Protestant Interest* is broke to Pieces, and the *Grand Alliance* seems not to be in a Possibility of being restored; at least, not by *Those*, who have thus destroy'd it. But if These are not the *Politicks* We now avow; if We see and feel the bad Effects of *this Balance* being destroy'd, for the Support of which We expended so many Millions, and still owe most Part of the Money; then I am sure the World abroad would rejoice to find Us returning to our Senses, and to the Principles, on which the *Grand Alliance* was form'd, by giving Them some effectual Proof that We design to support Them, and will endeavour to retrieve what hath been so injudiciously lost.

The Execution of this *new Plan of Power* put the Nation to an immense Charge, by increasing our Land-Forces at Home, by *Votes of Credit*, Subsidies to *Sweden*, large Subsidies to *Denmark*; 12,000
Hessians

Hessians paid for, to be in a Readiness for our Service ; and last of all, the Good-will of his Highness the Duke of *Wolfenbuttle* was obtain'd, who engaged to Guaranty all his Majesty's Dominions in *Great Britain*, *Ireland* and *Germany*, with a Body of 5000 Men, (not to be moved out of *GERMANY* or *Holland*) at so small an Expence as 25,000 l. a Year, for *four Years*. — Our naval Force was equally exerted, and of as great Expence and Use ; for a large Squadron of Ships was sent to the *Baltick*, in order to induce the King of *Sweden* to accept of our Subsidy ; another was dispatch'd to the Coasts of *Spain*, under Pretence of obstructing an Attempt from thence, in Favour of the *Pretender*, for which They have not yet discover'd any Appearance of Reason ; and the third was sent to the *West-Indies* with Orders to PERSUADE the *Spaniards* that it was their Interest to put their Treasure into our Hands. — But the whole Secret of this last Expedition was as follows.

When *France* had thus, in some Measure, defeated the Views of the *Vienna Treaty*, and endeavour'd to prevent the Union, which She so much dreaded between the *Emperor* and *Spain*, She wanted to chastise *Spain* a little, for daring to separate from Her. — To effect This, what did She do ? Why not put Herself to one Shilling of Expence, but consented, and pretended to some Merit in giving her Consent, that We might send a large Squadron to the *West-Indies* to block up the *Galleons* ; but We were on no Condition whatever to seize or touch the *Treasures*, that were on Board of them. Upon this wise Agreement and Resolution, *Hofier's* Squadron was sent to the *West-Indies*, where He and two more Admirals lost their Lives, and many other brave Officers, with a vast Multi-

Multitude of our *best Sailors* perish'd ; insomuch that We now complain of our Want of *Seamen* ; and Attempts have been made for obtaining the most dangerous Laws to recruit and mann our Fleets.

Thus did *France*, by one *Coup d'addresse*, inflict a temporary Punishment upon *Spain*, and a permanent one upon *Us*, dashing *Us* one against another ; teaching *Spain* that it was her Interest to remain united with *France*, and depriving *Us*, in some Measure, of the Power of hurting Her, if She took that plain and broad Intimation.

In the mean Time, *Gibraltar* was besieged, whilst our *Allies* gave *Us* no Assistance, and were at no Expence. As This convinced the Nation in general, it at last convinced the *Minister* how unable We were alone to reduce the exorbitant Power of the House of *Austria*, and dissolve their Alliance with *Spain*, for the Interest of *France*. Negotiations were therefore set on Foot, and ended in the Treaty of *Seville*, the whole Tendency of which, as to the *Plan of Power in Europe*, was to disunite *Spain* from the *Emperor* ; though, as the *natural Ally of this Nation*, He was the most necessary Power to be preserved and reconciled to *Us*.

This Treaty totally broke off all Correspondence between *Spain* and *Vienna*, and laid *Us* under the Obligation of forcing both the *Emperor's*, and the *Empire's* Consent likewise, to the Introduction of *Spanish* Garrisons into the strong Places of *Tuscany*, upon our Guaranty, which We never made good ; mistaking the View of the *Quadruple Alliance*, which was only an Expedient to prevent an immediate War in *Europe*, by adjusting the Differences and Disputes then subsisting between several Princes, and suspending others for a Time.

By this false Step, according to the Articles of the Treaty of *Seville*, We forced them into Execution ; and, at a vast Expence to Ourselves, carry'd *Don Carlos* into *Italy*. Nay, We even undertook the mean Task of conveying their Troops thither. By this monstrous ill Policy, We laid the Foundation of the total Destruction of the *Imperial Army* in *Italy*. — The *Emperor* was at once attack'd by *France*, *Spain*, and *Sardinia*, and We refused Him our Aid, though at that Time the *second Vienna Treaty* was made, by which We promised the *Emperor* Assistance, if attack'd, but did not fulfil our Engagements ; to which is owing the absolute Depression of the *Austrian Family*, and the Elevation of the *House of Bourbon*, with the Acquisition of *Lorain*.

After This, by the Intrigues of *France*, the late *Emperor* was engaged in a War with the *Turks*, to compleat his Ruin. — It is not therefore the Death of the late *Emperor*, that destroy'd the *House of Austria* ; for it was in a Manner undone before.

But the Insincerity of *France* during all this Time of our tame Resignation to Her, is very remarkable, by the secret Encouragement she always gave to *Spain*, not to perform any of the Articles of the *Seville Treaty*, as far as they related to Us, for Reparation of Damages, or the Security of our Trade and Navigation, for the future. On the contrary, *France* most certainly abetted *Spain*, by repeating and increasing those Depredations, besides her Cruelties in the *American Seas*. — This is manifest from the Support, which *France* now gives to *Spain*, when by *Treaties* she ought to assist Us, as *Spain* is evidently the Aggressor.

Do not all of Us remember that *these very Depredations* were in some Measure justify'd, at least extenuated and excused? But when they could be

no longer borne; when the Clamours of the *People* grew too outrageous for the *Minister*, then the Scheme was to amuse Us with *Commissaries* and tedious *Negotiations*, which ended in Nothing; whilst *France* play'd her Game with great *Dexterity*, keeping *Spain* dependent upon Her for Support, and run away with almost the whole Trade of the *West-Indies*.

In the mean Time, it must not be forgot that *this Treaty of Seville* obtain'd for Us no Acknowledgment of our *Rights*, Security of our *Trade* for the future, nor any Restitution to our *Merchants*, who had been plunder'd for so many Years. This was foreseen at first, by every impartial sensible Man, and our present Situation too fully proves it now.

The second *Vienna Treaty* was perhaps a right Measure in general, by reconciling Ourselves to the *Emperor*; but the Manner of doing was certainly wrong; because We negotiated it without any Communication with *France*, contrary to an express Article in the *Hanover Treaty*, which intirely united *France* and *Spain*.

At Length, came the famous *Convention*, which was extoll'd by *this honourable Gentleman*, before it appear'd, as a *Chef d'oeuvre*. He said it contain'd all We could wish, much more than could have ever been expected; and yet what was it? — Is it not an eternal Reproach to the late *Parliament* that They ever approved of it, or gave the least Countenance to it? — Our very *Right of Navigation in those Seas* was brought into Question, and the *Limits of Search* basely admitted, in some Degree, by being referr'd to future Disquisition; from which fatal Blunder We are brought into our present Difficulties. — Had We made Use of the Time, whilst *this Treaty* was lapsing into Nothing, and been prepar-

ing for *War*, We had acted wisely, and by striking an early Blow put an End to the War as soon as We had begun it. — The *West-Indies* might have been in our Power, according to the Opinion of the *Admiral* himself, who now commands there; and, in that Case, *France* would scarce have ventured upon sending her Fleets to support *Spain*.

But This is not all; for the *South-Sea Company* were intended to be made a Sacrifice to *Spain* by this iniquitous Convention; since the Declaration of the Marquis de la *Quadra* as the Condition, upon the Validity and Faith of which *Spain* agreed to sign the Convention, and not otherwise, was allowing the Sense and Meaning of the *third Article* to be a total Exclusion of the Demands of the *South-Sea Company*, with Respect to this national Convention, with the reciprocal Demands of Money, and Restitution on both Sides; when, at the same Time, this Declaration was intended to force the *South-Sea Company* to pay 68,000 *l.* by a declared private Sense and Meaning of the said Article, as the Condition of signing that Treaty, for the Benefit and Advantage of the King of *Spain*, contrary to the said express Words of that Article in the Treaty, under the Penalty of so much greater Value, the Suspension of their Trade; which was contrary to Justice and Treaties, and contrary to the first Principles of all Governments. Yet is there great Reason to believe that the honourable Gentleman was the first Person, who proposed to Don *Geraldino* to saddle the *South-Sea Company* with 68,000 *l.* Part of the 95,000 *l.* to be paid by *Spain*, or directed the Negotiations, upon which it was founded.

The Convention was so far from obtaining, or asserting an Acknowledgement of our Rights, after the
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the Advice of *both Houses of Parliament* given to *his Majesty*, declaring that *Spain* had no Claim to *search our Ships*, under any Pretence, upon the open Seas, that the *said Treaty* seems to allow that Right, and the *Spanish* Maxims, upon which it is founded, so far as that it had never yet been contradicted by *our Ministers*, nor asserted, regulated, or mention'd in the *Treaty*, as it ought to have been done, pursuant to the *Advice of Parliament*; but only in general declares that our Grievances are to be regulated by the *Treaties* named therein; upon which *Treaties* only *Spain* had founded their Practice, which was long submitted to, and sometimes openly justify'd by *our Minister*. There is great Reason to be convinced that our *just and most valuable Rights* were never asserted, nor any Proposition made for the secure Enjoyment of them, till there was an End of the *Convention*, by *Spain's* refusing to pay the 95,000 l. stipulated, and till *hostile Orders* were sent from hence to our Squadrons abroad.

When *temporary Expedients, Preliminaries, Pacifications, Commissaries, and Conventions* would no longer prevail, and a great Majority of the People grew tired of such trifling Amusements, the *Minister* was forced into a War; though sometimes He says that He was driven into it, and sometimes that He was as forward as any One to enter into it, just as it suits the Purpose of the present Time. I wish He would stick to one Point, that We might know where to have Him, and how to answer Him.

As for *Dunkirk*, I shall say but little upon it, being very unwilling to urge any Thing, at this Time, that may be construed to provoke a *French War*; but sure I am that if We should be involved in One, it will be a most dreadful Annoyance to

our

our Trade, as it was in the *last War*, and the *Owner of every Vessel*, that is taken by a *Dunkirk Privateer*, will have Reason to curse Those, who have suffer'd it to become a *Port and Harbour* again, contrary to a solemn and express Treaty. — That it is now a *Port and Harbour* is self-evident, not only from our Connivance, at the *Reparation* of it, but by admitting their *Cambricks* and *Brandies* to be imported into *England*, and taking a *Flemish Duty* for *those Commodities*, which is plainly acknowledging it to be a *Port*.

When an Enquiry was formerly made into this Affair, and upon the strongest Assurances obtain'd from the Court of *France* that the *Port and Harbour* should be reduced to the Condition prescribed by the Treaty of *Utrecht*, and of *keeping their Faith even to a Nicety*, an Address of Thanks was presented to his Majesty for the great Care of his Subjects in that important Affair. Nevertheless, the *Importations* from thence have never been intermitted, nor hath the chief, if not the only Thing insisted upon by *our Engineer*, whilst *France* was permitted to make it a *Port* again, been perform'd; I mean the total Destruction of the Foundations of the *Risbank*, and the *other Forts*, which was then apprehended would hereafter serve for the Erection of *Batteries*, for the Protection of the *Harbour*, and afterwards carrying on what *Works* They pleased. This ought therefore to be thought a Neglect of the most dangerous Consequence to the Nation, since We may now too soon feel the Effects of it from thence.

This must be allow'd to be very hard Usage from a *Nation*, to whom We have long been so compliant in almost every Thing; one ever-memorable Instance of which was our Consent to let Them recruit their *Irish Regiments* in that Country; which

which was the most amazing Piece of Complaisance ever known. — This alone was an Article criminal in the highest Degree. It is known to be Fact, and was just going into Execution, had not *good Nature* and the *Love of their Country* prevail'd upon some Persons, who chose to alarm the World with it, and prevented the Thing, before it was absolutely perfected. Thus did They save their Country from a destructive Measure, and prevented *Those*, who were concern'd in it, from dipping too far into the *Treason*; for so it really was. — All the Protestants of *Ireland*, as well as of *England*, were sufficiently enraged at this destructive Concession, and would have call'd out loudly for Justice, had it been actually put in Execution. — But. now let Us take a View of his Conduct in this War.

It is apparent to the whole Nation that it ought to have been prosecuted with the utmost Vigour and Expedition in the *West-Indies*, where alone We could distress our *Enemy* in the most sensible Manner, and obtain any lasting Advantage to this Nation. Yet the timely supplying and reinforcing of Admiral *Vernon* there, notwithstanding the Knowledge of his most essential Wants, was most shamefully neglected. His Success shews what might have been done, had He been supply'd with a small Number of *Land-Forces* sent over from hence even in the *Spring*, before our *Enemy* sent such Numbers, and had Time given Them to fortify Themselves, which is an irretrievable Omission, considering *our numerous and useless Army* kept at home last Year, though Transports for 8000 Men to the *West-Indies* were taken up in *December 1739*, some of which might have been employ'd there with such Probability of Success, that a Blow given in Time might have reduced *Spain* before now to
reasonable

reasonable Terms of Accommodation, and prevented *France* from sending their Squadrons to the *West-Indies*.

But the Inactivity of our Fleets, though fitted out at a monstrous Expence, is a Sort of Proof that the *great Man* had more Desire to tire *Us* of the War than our *Enemies*. His losing the Opportunity of beginning it, by an early and decisive Stroke, as He certainly might have done, proves Him extremely backward; and his not sending Succours to Admiral *Vernon* from the 2d of *November* 1739 to the Middle of *June* 1740, which is seven Months, though They were under great Apprehensions of the *Spanish* Fleet being sail'd thither, and superior to Him, is a wonderful Instance of ill Policy, if not Something worse. It appears, by the Letters laid before *Parliament*, that the *Admiral* more than once complain'd of being lock'd up in Port, and disabled from undertaking any Enterprize, for Want of Provisions, and naval Stores.

Are the glorious Actions, which the *Admiral* has perform'd, to be attributed to the *Minister*? — No surely. — They seem to be almost Miracles rather than any Thing else, considering the *small Force*, with which He perform'd them. But to prove, beyond all Contradiction, that by Orders from hence there was no Reason to expect what was done, We need only appeal to the *Admiral's Letters*. — He makes a Kind of Excuse for what He had done, hoping it might be understood to be *within the MEANING of his Instructions*; which plainly manifests that He had no POSITIVE INSTRUCTIONS for the doing it; and it appears that the *first Instructions* received by Him, for any Thing of the same Kind, were after this Service was perform'd.

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That this is true, appears from the Admiral's Letters, laid upon the Table of the *House of Commons* the last Parliament.

In one of them, He complains "of empty Store-Houses; the *Shrowds* rotten; his *Ships* over-masted; sent to Sea with old *Guard-Skip Rigging*."

In his next Letter, He complains "of being disabled from keeping the Sea for Want of Stores, and reduced to his Neighbour *Don Blas's* Fate, to be laid by the Walls; that he is in a melancholy and forlorn State."

In another Letter, He complains again "of old Rigging being sent to Him; the Officers of the Yard thinking it only another *Spithead Expedition*."

But to proceed ———

The suffering the *Cadix* Squadron to fail to *Ferrol*, and both of them to steal from thence, and go unmolested to the *West-Indies*, when either Admiral *Haddock*, or *Ogle*, might have easily prevented it, is an unaccountable Piece of Neglect, and must have been occasion'd by wrong Intelligence, or rather no Intelligence at all. They and the two *French Squadrons*, getting to the *West-Indies* so long before We could, left our Fleets and our Colonies in the most imminent Danger. Is it not very surprizing that We had no better Advices of the Preparations, which *France* was making, and what were her true Designs? For by what appears from the *Papers deliver'd to Parliament*, the first Intelligence, which our Ministers had of the real Designs of *France*, came so far off as even from our own *West-Indies*; and there are several Letters from thence informing Them that *France* and *Spain* were fitting out Fleets to be sent to the *West-Indies*, which put our Colonies and Settlements there into the utmost Consternation. They farther

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advised that the *Contracts* for victualling these Ships, as well as *Martinico* itself, were made in *Ireland*. — Is it therefore to be credited that it should be many Months after This, before the *Embargo* was laid on Provisions in *Ireland*?

Having given this Detail of our *foreign Affairs*, in as brief a Manner as the Nature of the Subject would admit, I shall now endeavour to enumerate some Instances of our *domestick Mal-Administration* with the same Brevity, without attempting to aggravate any; for stating them in a true Light will be sufficient; and I must here observe that it is not my Design to give a particular Narrative of the Proceedings, upon this Occasion, but only a short Justification of them.

It is well known that *this honourable Gentleman* hath long rode triumphant in the Administration. That He hath had, and even boasted of having the *sole Influence* over all the Councils, is notorious. — Is not *He* therefore justly chargeable and accountable for all the Mal-versations? — Is it not certain that He hath for many Years, in a Manner, *monopolized all the Favours of the Crown*, and engross'd the sole Disposal of all *Places, Pensions, Titles, and Ribbons*, as well as the Gift of all *Preferments, civil, military, and ecclesiastical*? — Hath He not opposed and defeated the Advancement of *many deserving Gentlemen* upon the bare Suspicion of not being blindly devoted to *his private Interest*? Hath He not made Use of his prevailing Influence to displace *several other Persons of the highest Rank and most illustrious Characters*, upon that Account only? No other Reason, at least, hath been assign'd for these extraordinary and arbitrary Proceedings. — Nay hath He not openly avow'd it Himself, and said that He must be a *pitiful Fellow of a Minister*, who would not do the same?

Thus

Thus hath He made *Favours*, slavishly obtain'd from an *indulgent Master*, subservient to his Views of gaining a *corrupt Majority in both Houses of Parliament*, and keeping Them *dependent upon Himself*. — Hence hath He been enabled to impose several *Excise-Laws* upon the People, and even encouraged to attempt a *general Excise* — Hence the insolent Severity of the Laws for *collecting the Revenues*; the Revival of *oppressive Duties*, which affect the *Poor*; anticipating them and mortgaging them for many Years to come; seizing the Surplusses of *Lotteries*, as if not belonging to the *Sinking Fund*; taking the *whole Sinking Fund*, which ought to have been strictly apply'd to the Payment of the *publick Debt* only, and making it answer the *current Services of the Year*; supplying vast and unnecessary Expences brought upon Us only by *his own bad Management*; demanding frequent and expensive Subsidies for *foreign Troops*, without any visible Cause or Use for them; and keeping up a *Land-Force at Home*, when absolutely unnecessary, dangerous to the Liberties of the People, and unavoidably creating a Dissatisfaction amongst Them. — Let it not be urged that these Things were done by *Parliament*. — That is the very Crime charged against Him; getting by improper Means an *undue Influence in Parliament*, and then obtaining their Sanction for *his own unjust Measures*. That this is a good Reason for the *late Motion* may be proved out of his own Mouth, in the Articles of Impeachment against the late Earl of *Oxford*. — Hence it is that He hath ventured to throw out *Defiances*, and never fear'd *any Enquiry*. --- From hence he hath seem'd of late to despise *Acts of Indemnity*, and judg'd them unnecessary for his Safety, though *such an Act* was formerly

merly drawn up, by his own Order, but laid aside, upon its being properly exposed.

One great Increase of our publick Debt was owing to his corrupt Management of the *Army Debentures* by which they were swell'd to an *exorbitant* Height. *These Debentures* were sold at 30 *l.* or 35 *l.* per Cent. Discount before any Fund was settled for the Payment of the *Interest*, and had originally no Fund for the Payment of *Principal* or *Interest*. --- The Case of the *Nevis*, *Navy Bills*, and others was of much the same Nature, and it would be easy to point out the *particular Money-Shop*, where this iniquitous Business was chiefly transacted.

A *Million* of the late King's Debt on the *Civil List*, which we were fallaciouly told was to be no Charge to the Nation, is now left a Debt upon it. *One hundred and fifteen thousand Pounds* was ask'd for the very first Year, under the Pretence of a *Deficiency*, though the contrary was evidently made to appear; and notwithstanding the immense *Civil List* now granted, who does not know that it is vastly in Debt at this Instant? — What can be the Cause of This, but that the *Means of Government* are grown so intolerably expensive, that the Nation cannot bear it? — At this Rate, *Parliaments* themselves may come to be thought a *Grievance*, and be so burthensome an Engine of Government, that the *People* may grow tired of them, and wish for any other. --- When We see the great *Metropolis of the Kingdom*, and the *Centre of all our Trade*, treated like every little *Corporation*, and govern'd by the same *Means*, their *Petitions* rejected with Contempt, or only laid upon the *Table*, which is much the same Thing, what can be said in Defence of *such a Minister*?

But above all, the frequent Practice of introducing *Votes of Credit* is certainly a most dangerous Innovation

Innovation on the *Constitution*, and hath a direct Tendency to make not only the *Prince* but the *Minister* arbitrary.

The avow'd Opposition, which *this Gentleman* gave, whilst at the *Head of the Revenue*, to a plain and practicable Scheme for reducing the *national Debt*, brought into the *House of Commons* by a very worthy and a very able Member of it, join'd to the *extravagant Expences* He is always bringing upon Us, is a manifest Proof that it is not his Desire to see *this heavy Debt* ever reduced, as long as He continues in Power; for He is too sensible of the *Influence* that attends it; and This was certainly one Reason for the farther mortgaging of the *Salt-Duty*, which hath such a Number of *Officers* concern'd in it.

I must here mention another Thing, upon which the *honourable Gentleman*, when He was charged with it, took *Shame to Himself*, in having for many Years together lost one whole Revenue; I mean the Duty on *Hawkers and Pedlars*.

In short, the Management of our *Money-Affairs* have kept an exact Pace with our Conduct abroad; the Pursuit of which destructive Measures, and the Want of a more frugal Management at home have render'd our *publick Debts* very little lessen'd, since the happy Accession of the *present Royal Family* to the Throne. — The *publick Debt*, due the 31st of *December 1716*, was 47,894,950*l.*; but by some *Articles* omitted, and many *extraordinary Allowances* afterwards, particularly his great Increase of it by the *Army Debentures*, it was made to amount to 51,000,000*l.*; of which there was paid off, in the Year 1725, about *five Millions*, before it was thought necessary to reduce the exorbitant Power of the House of *Austria*; and We had the pleasing Prospect of soon seeing our *publick Debts* greatly diminish'd

diminish'd, and the heavy Burthens of our most *oppressive Taxes* taken off, by the Progress of the *Sinking Fund*, which would have been so much increased at *Midsummer 1727*, by the Reduction of the Interest of a great Part of them from five to four *per Cent.* But, upon the Demise of his late Majesty, above 100,000 *l.* a Year was taken from *that Fund*, and added to his *present Majesty's Civil List*; which annual Sum, for above *thirteen Years*, would have paid off a considerable Part of our Debt; but notwithstanding this Deduction, the Produce of the *Sinking Fund*, for the Year 1728, being the first after the *Reduction of Interest*, was 1,244,789 *l.* which for *thirteen Years*, without reckoning any Thing for the annual Increase of *that Fund* by what was paid off the foregoing Year, would alone have paid off 16,182,257 *l.* more. — But such is our unfortunate and deplorable Situation, owing to the Conduct of *this Minister*, that our *publick Debts* are still about 48,000,000 *l.*; of which about 7,000,000 *l.* of our *publick Debts* now remaining are new Debts contracted since the *Hanover Treaty*, notwithstanding the many Millions, that have been taken from the *Sinking Fund*, to pay for our *extraordinary and expensive current Service of the Year.* Had not the *Sinking Fund* been thus diverted from its original Institution, and Contract with the *publick Creditors*, above *half our Debt* might have been paid off, to the great Advantage of the Nation, and may at last be wish'd for by the *publick Creditors.*

This was the Substance of the Charge, as far as I can recollect it, against the *honourable Gentleman*, and the Reason for making *this Motion to remove Him from his Majesty's Councils*, as the chief Occasion of our present unhappy Situation both *Abroad* and *at Home.* — Nobody denies his *Abilities*, which

which perhaps may be superior to most Men in *some Parts of Government*.——Had He confined Himself to *his own proper Department*, He might certainly have been of great Service to his Country; but what Man can undertake every Thing?——He is not charged with *Want of Talents*, but with assuming *too much Power*, and making an *ill Use of it*; for a *sole and absolute Minister* this Nation cannot bear. It is contrary to *our Laws*, and the very Nature of *our Constitution*; there being many Precedents in our Records not only for accusing *Those*, who engross that Power to *Themselves*, but likewise for *addressing the Throne* to remove such dangerous Ministers, as a Grievance to the Nation, and even for *banishing of Ministers* *, who monopolized the Ear and Councils of their Prince. ——How therefore can it be said, and yet it was said in the Debate, that *this Motion* was unprecedented and surprizing?——I think it is much more surprizing, considering our deplorable Circumstances for many Years past, that We were supine so long, and that *such a Motion* was not made many Years before; especially since the Nation call'd so loudly for it.

If *Parliaments* are design'd to redress *Grievances*; if They are the *Grand Council of the Nation* to advise his Majesty in all arduous and important Affairs, (as the *Writ*, which calls Us together, expresses) then I am sure it is their Duty to join in any Measures, which appear necessary for maintaining *our just Liberties*, preserving *our Constitution*, and securing the *present Royal Family* on the Throne.

But if, on the contrary, *Parliaments* are design'd for Nothing but to give *Money*, whenever call'd upon to do it; to vote *Troops*, wanted or not

* The two Speakers.

wanted;

wanted; to load the Subjects with *Taxes*; to give *unlimited Votes of Credit*, whenever demanded; and pass *severe and oppressive Laws*; to screen every Action of an *Administration*, and to approve of *every Thing* They do; then it must be confess'd that the *honourable Gentleman* hath made the right Use of *Parliaments*, and understands what they are intended for better than any Man now living in the Kingdom, or any *Minister* in former Times.

To look back for several Years, and recount the many unfortunate Steps of a *long Mal-Administration*, can be no very agreeable Task to any One; to attack a Man personally must be ungrateful to any Mind tinctured with the least Degree of Good-nature and Compassion; but yet these are Provinces, odious as they may be thought, which We must sometimes undertake, if We have any Regard for our Country, and act the Part of honest Citizens. — This is what the *honourable Gentleman* hath Himself more than once undergone. I am willing to believe He was then convinced that He was doing his Duty to his Country, how disagreeable soever it might be to Himself. He was then conscious of the Honesty of his own Intentions, and cannot justly blame any Body else for acting the same Part. — Would to God He had not furnish'd so much Occasion for *Others* to retort even less Severities on *Him* than He hath shewn to *Others*; and then there would have been no Occasion for this uneasy and ungrateful Task.

But, say the Advocates of *this Minister*, what Proof hath been produced to support all or any of these numerous and heinous Charges brought against Him? — To which I reply.

There are but two or three Ways at most, that the *Commons* have ever practis'd, of bringing *evil Ministers* to Punishment; That is, by *Bill*, *Impeachment*,

peachment, or by *Address to the Throne* to remove Them — The *last* is much the least hard and severe of the *three*; since it affects neither the *Life*, the *Liberty*, nor even the *Acquisitions* They may have made by a long Course of evil Conduct; but only removes Them from continuing their Oppressions. — *Take away the Wicked from before the King, and his Throne shall be establish'd in Righteousness.*

In the *former Cases*, legal Evidence must be produced and apply'd particularly to the several Heads of Accusation. But in *this Method of Proceeding*, strong Presumptions have always been sufficient; and if the *Facts* are notorious, the *House* is justify'd in their Proceedings. There may be many Things as plain and manifest as the Testimony even of an hundred Witnesses could make them; and yet, perhaps, there would be great Difficulty of proving them in a *legal Way*. But if *Mischiefs* and *Grievances* are evident, and *Oppressions* are felt; *Those*, who are known to have the *Administration* in their Hands, and especially if it should be *one single Person*, who hath the *King's Ear*, and is known to have the *chief Credit* with Him, He is always esteem'd the Author of the bad Advice, and accountable for it. — If not, all *parliamentary Enquiries* are frustrated, and must be to no Effect.

Henry the 4th, a wise Prince, when the *Commons* made a Complaint against *four of his Servants* at once, He told Them that though He himself knew Nothing criminal against Them, yet He was sure the *Commons* must be in the Right, and removed Them all, declaring, that He would do the same by any *Others*, who should be *near his Royal Person*, if They were so unhappy as to fall under the Hatred and Indignation of *his People*.

Have We, for *twenty Years last past*, been ever suffer'd to have *one proper Committee of Parliament*, to examine into the Disposition of *so many Millions* as seem to have been squander'd away? — Have We even been allow'd fairly and impartially to consider the Multitude of *Treaties* our *Ministers* have of late Years made? — They have, indeed, been brought before *Parliament*; but for what? — Why by the *Ministers* Themselves for a *sure and implicit Approbation*. — Hath *that Approbation* given them any Credit *without Doors*, or persuaded the World to think the better of them? — No. — The *People* feel the bad Effects of them. — Their Senses are not to be imposed upon. — If the *Actions of a Minister* be condemn'd by the *general Voice of the People*; if all disinterested Men *without Doors* are against Him; will a *Vote of Approbation within Doors* be of any long Utility to Him? — No. It may possibly bring a Reproach upon the *Parliament*, especially if its Duration be not long; but it will never wipe off the Stains from Him.

But as to the Method of Proceeding, and the pretended Want of *legal Proof*, I have somewhat farther to say. — Is it not beneath the Dignity of *Parliament* to follow the common Forms of the Courts of *Westminster-Hall*? — Would it not have been scandalous for the *grand Council of the Nation* to descend into every minute Circumstance? — Could it be expected that They should bring particular Proof that the *honourable Gentleman* charged has been *prime and sole Minister* for above twenty Years? — Does not the whole Nation know it? — What Necessity is there for any particular Evidence to prove that He has made, or order'd to be

be made several *bad Treaties*? — Do We not all feel the severe Effects of Them? — What Reason, at least, have those Members of either House, who voted against the *Hanover Treaty*, the *Treaty of Seville*, the *Convention*, besides all the other tedious, and *expensive Negotiations*, to demand a Proof that they were *bad ones*? — If They did not think them so, why did They vote against them? If They really thought Them to be *good Treaties*, how can They justify their Conduct before God and the whole World?

I shall now proceed, as I promised, to some Remarks upon the *honourable Gentleman's Speech* in his own Defence; for though he would not suffer any Body to answer Him in the House of Commons, He must expect and shall have a Reply in Print.

Having thus insisted upon his Right of speaking last, He complain'd of a *new Bundle of Infamy*, which was offer'd so late in the Debate, though He was the sole Occasion of it Himself.

“ It was a great Comfort, said He, that none
 “ of my Enemies could impute any *corrupt Gain*
 “ to Me, nor condemn Me for any *one Transaction*,
 “ either foreign nor domestick, that had not been
 “ done either by Direction of Parliament, or after-
 “ wards approved by Parliament.”

How trifling and frivolous is this Answer! — Could not the same be said by any *prime Minister* for many Years past? — Have They not all govern'd Parliaments in their Turns? — Did not even the *Treaty of Utrecht* itself, which has been made answerable for all our Blunders and Mismanage-

ment since, receive the *Approbation* of *Parliament*, as an *honourable Peace*, and yet did not *this very Gentleman* impeach the late *Earl of Oxford* for directing the *Negotiation* of it as *prime Minister* only, though not in his own proper *Department* as *Lord High Treasurer*?

“ Here stand I, said the *honourable Gentleman*,
 “ innocent as I am. God knows my Heart, I never
 “ had but *two Employments* and *one little Grant*
 “ (meaning his House at *Chelsea*) which might
 “ be worth, perhaps, *about seven hundred Pounds*.
 “ Oh! Yes, said He, I had like to have forgot
 “ *this little Ornament a-cross my Shoulders*, which
 “ might be the *Envy* of *another Place*; but it was
 “ impossible to imagine that it could give any
 “ Offence to the Members of this House, for re-
 “ storing that Honour to Them, which some of
 “ their Ancestors had formerly worn. I might,
 “ indeed, have had a *White Staff* and a *Seat in*
 “ *the other House*, by his Majesty's Goodness; but
 “ I chose to continue amongst You, and hope such
 “ a Refusal cannot be thought any Indignity to
 “ You.”

In Answer to This, I think that two of the first Employments in the Kingdom, considering the vast Power, which belongs to them, by having the Disposition of the *publick Money* in his Hands, ought not to be treated in so disdainful a Manner.

I shall not insist upon his poor little Grant of *Chelsea House*; because whether it was worth *seven hundred* or *seven thousand Pounds*, it is of no great Consequence to the Nation, in Comparison of the many heavy Burthens He has brought upon Us.

But

But can He pretend to say that He has had no other *secret Grants* for *Himself*, his *Sons*, his *Relations*, his *Creatures* and *Dependants*? ---- Is not his Brother *Auditor of all our Plantations, Colonies and Settlements* in the *West-Indies for Life*, of an unknown Value, considering his ravenous Improvement of it, besides other lucrative Employments, which He has many Years enjoy'd? ---- Is not his eldest Son *Auditor of the Exchequer* at home for *Life*, computed at 8000*l.* a Year? — Is not his second Son *Clerk of the Pells, for Life*, computed at 4000*l.* a Year? ---- Did he not obtain, from his late Majesty, an illegal Grant in Trust for his two younger Sons for the Place of *Collector of the Customs inwards*, generally esteem'd 2000*l.* a Year? — Besides which, has not *young Horace* the Place of *Porter, or Usher to the Exchequer for Life*, of the yearly Value of 1400*l.*? — These only will be found, upon a very moderate Computation, to amount to above 20,000*l.* a Year to his Family for Life. — But are We not to reckon into the Account the great Estate He has rais'd, the sumptuous Palace He has built, and the great Wealth He has accumulated to Himself and his Family, as well as his expensive Manner of Living for many Years past? — Will any Man of Sense, who knew his Circumstances at the Demise of the late Queen *Anne*, believe all This could possibly be done out of the visible Profits of *two Employments*, which were never computed so high as 5000*l.* a Year, and a little Grant of 700*l.* only?

As to his little Ornament hung about his Shoulders, what Pretence can He possibly make for saying that it did Honour to the House of Commons? ---

Has

Has He ever dignify'd any other Member of that House with it, even his own *polite Brother*, or any Gentleman of his own Party, whose Birth, Education and Principles might have deserved it as well as Himself.

With Regard to the *White Staff* and a *Peerage*, who does not know that He would have taken them both many Years ago, if He could have found a Person capable of supporting his Interest in the *House of Commons*? --- It is not therefore owing to his great Humility or Respect to that House, but to his own Safety that he declined *those Honours*.

In answer to the Charge of the *Army Debentures*, the *honourable Gentleman* was pleased to say " that
" the Devil, who had long owed the Patriots a
" Shame, had now given it Them; for that Affair
" ought to be placed to the Account of Those,
" who were then in Power, when He was only
" a *Country Gentleman*."

To set this Affair in a true Light, it appears by the Votes of the *House of Commons*, that He was the Proposer of the first Bill, for *stating and determining the Debts due to the Army*, and order'd to bring it in. Thus did He give a Beginning to that Transaction, almost two Years before He was out of Power; and after his Return to it, He compleatly finish'd what he began, by bringing in the last Bill, to his own great Profit and Advantage. The Debts due to the *Army* were calculated, at first, at no more than 3 or 400,000 *l.* at most; but, by his frugal Management, they afterwards were swell'd up to 2,152,927 *l.* and had *Debentures* issued out accordingly; but there being 941,629 *l.*
of

of that Sum not subscribed into the *South-Sea Company*, He very prudently paid them off, because they were only *straggling Debts*; and not because they were at a large Discount, and bore a less Interest than all our other national Debts.

In the next Place, the *honourable Gentleman* endeavour'd to justify Himself in the Affair of the *Hawkers and Pedlars*, by saying, that "had He been apprized of such a Transaction being mention'd, which was under Consideration of Parliament so long ago, He could prove that no Imputation of *Neglect* could be laid to Him, but to Those, who were in the *Treasury* before Him."

I do not understand what *this Gentleman* means by *Neglect*; for supposing that Part of this publick Loss was owing to Those in the *Treasury* before Him, was it not his Duty, when He came into Power again, to enquire into the Accounts of that Office?—Was this no *Neglect*?—When He was first charged with it, did He not own it to be a *Neglect*, and excuse it in an insolent Manner, by calling it only a *Hawking and Peddling Business*?—And when a Question was propos'd upon it, did He not openly declare, that when a Minister was personally attack'd He had a Right, in his own Defence, to make Use of parliamentary Craft, and therefore the Question for the Order of the Day was propos'd and took Place? It is therefore extremely surprizing that He should make any Mistake about so plain a Fact, since his Memory has been often refresh'd with it, both *within Doors*, and *without*.

"As to the *Treaty of Hanover*, said the *honourable Gentleman*, it was the Work of another Person, and if He approved of it afterwards in
"Par-

“ *Parliament*, or in *Council*, He was only *Que ont*
 “ of *Many*, in both Places; and rather submitted
 “ to what He thought was necessary to be sup-
 “ ported after it was done, than that He approved
 “ of the making it.”

Why did not the *honourable Gentleman* mention that *other Person*, who was guilty of making so *fatal a Treaty*? — Was it not *One*, to whom He first owed all his Advancement to Power, and was afterwards used by Him in a most ungrateful Manner? — Was He not *Prime Minister*, when that *Treaty* was made? — Had He not the sole Direction of all Affairs, both abroad and at home? — Who therefore can be so weak as to believe that any *other Person* would make such a *Treaty* without his Direction and Advice? — Does He deny his Approbation of it *both in Parliament and in Council*? — If He *submitted* to it, contrary to his own Judgment, and his Conscience, what Excuse can be made for such a Conduct?

Of the same Kind was his Assertion, “ that all
 “ the *other Treaties* were right at the Times they
 “ were respectively made, though they may not
 “ have had the desired Effect.”

Enough has been said already about the *infamous Convention*; but as the *honourable Gentleman* seems to look upon it as his *Darling Child*, and was not ashamed to justify it in his Speech, though it has been so generally condemn'd by the whole Nation, I must say something farther upon it. When He endeavour'd to get a *parliamentary Approbation* of it, He declared, in the Face of the whole House, that He *alone was answerable for it*; but as Time

has

has sufficiently exposed the clandestine and iniquitous Part of *that Treaty*, an Attempt was made to enquire into it the last Session; but every Step towards obtaining any *Lights*, or *Papers*, relating to it, was refused, under Pretence of *Secrecy*; though the Facts were publickly known both at home and abroad, except to the *Parliament*, in their judicial Capacity. This Pretence was sufficient to a *dependent Majority*; and has, through his whole Administration, prevented an Enquiry into *foreign Affairs*, and giving the *Crown* any Advice in Relation to them; which is the proper Business and Duty of *Parliament*. It therefore became necessary, as the only Way left, by which an Enquiry could be made into that Affair, that *all the Papers*, relating to it, should be call'd for, and referr'd to a *secret Committee*, who alone should see them, and make their Report upon what They thought proper. As This, which is the only parliamentary Method of obtaining *Evidence*, to support an Accusation, or of acting in a judicial Capacity, was refused, because the *honourable Gentleman*, with great *Force of Eloquence*, together with his most *persuasive Influence*, and no Doubt with equal Justice, since He best knew the Consequence of that Motion to Himself, opposed it last Year; declaring it to be *the Day of his Trial*, of his *Acquittal or Condemnation*; and therefore to the *Judgment of the House* He appeal'd, and to their *Mercy* He submitted Himself. — This was such a convincing Argument to his righteous Creatures, that without *Facts*, without *Evidence*, They acquitted Him as He desired, by refusing to see what, upon his own *Confession*, and *State of the Question*, must have proved Him guilty; since the Sight of those *Papers* would have been his *Condemnation*, as the *Refusal of them* was his *Acquittal*.

After this Determination, upon such Principles and Arguments, what was to be done by Those, who opposed his destructive Measures for the Good of their Country, whilst He continued in the same Plenitude of Power, and exerted the same corrupt Influence? — Should They have gone on calling for *Papers*, which was in Effect only calling for *Negatives* to stand in the *Votes*, and building a Sort of triumphal Arch to a self-condemn'd and ruinous Minister? — After this boasted Acquittal, was there any Method left to produce legal Proofs of what every Man knows, to support an Impeachment against Him? — Did not this Refusal therefore make the other *parliamentary Way of Proceeding* absolutely necessary; since it was the only one, which his exorbitant Power had left Them; That of advising the *Crown* to remove a Grievance? — But in Answer to This, it was meanly and shamefully urged by his Faction; *where is your Evidence?* Nothing else would They say, or admit of the Disquisition of any *Fact* that was stated against Him.

To This I shall only reply, without entering here into the Detail; the Evidence was the same that was produced on the Day of his *Confession, Trial, and Acquittal* last Year; which alone was sufficient for an *Address to remove Him*, since it proved, at the same Time, his Power of protecting Himself in his *bad Measures*, against the *Voice of the People*, and left no other Method to be try'd at last, for obtaining *national Redress*.

If any Thing could surprize Us, under the present State of *Corruption, and Prostitution*, it would be hearing Those call out for *Evidence*, who have
all

all along stifled it; and who can acquit a *Minister*, by suffering *none* to be produced; yet have not Reflection enough to know, that They themselves have been so far concern'd in joining to bear their Testimony, in this Respect, against Him, from what past the last Year; to which We must again add his Declaration the Year before, in full Parliament, that *He alone was answerable for the Convention*; and as all This was heard acknowledged by above *four hundred Members*, what Evidence could be stronger?—Or what others wanting, in the Nature of the Thing, to prove Him accountable for it, when thus call'd upon in *Parliament*? The whole Tendency of that Day's Proceeding was to lay before the *House* the *present unhappy State of the Nation*, and the *Measures*, which had brought Us into it, from the Year 1725; during all which Time, He was *principal*, if not *sole Minister*, without any Design to inflict *judicial* or *legislative Punishments*; the last of which, He has freely bestow'd on *Others*, upon much *slighter Evidence*; and upon *Some*, without any *Evidence* at all. The *Facts* being asserted, the natural Consequence was an Attempt to remove a Person, whose *ill Conduct*, or *Approbation*, at least, of every Step, had reduced Us to this distress'd Condition. The Part therefore of Those, who thought, or pretended to think there were no Crimes laid to his Charge, should have been by contesting the *Facts* alledged, or shewing that some *other Person* was properly accountable for them. But instead of either, the *Facts* were in a Manner admitted to be *true and criminal*, by not being controverted. But the *Faction's* whole Defence of *their Patron* consisted in repeating over and over again, one after another, as They were directed before-hand, that He was accused only upon *publick Fame* and *Notoriety*,

without any Proof; and asking, *where is the Evidence?* Such are the Effects of *wilful and corrupt Delusion*, as well as the *Force of Truth!* Their very Arguments are a tacit Acknowledgment of the *Crime*, though They were determined, at all Events, to acquit the *Criminal*. Strange Infatuation, that any Men, whilst They are scorched by the Sun, should call for *Evidence* to prove it was *Daylight!* — What is it that justifies the *Representatives of the People*, for laying heavy Taxes upon the Subject, and enacting grievous, though proper penal Laws, but their own Knowledge, or Conviction of the Necessities that require them. *Speeches* from the *Throne*, at least of late Years, seldom tell any News; and if the *Parliament* are satisfy'd in their own Minds that any Demands from thence are really necessary, They never call for *Evidence* to prove *that Necessity*, but always grant their Aids with Chearfulness; of which We had a late memorable Instance upon the *Declaration of War* against *Spain*.

If This is thought sufficient to lay heavy Burthens upon the *People*, is it not absurd to call for any *other Sort of Evidence* to save the Nation, and redress the Grievances brought upon Them by *one Man?*

If the *late Motion* had been contrary to the *antient Forms of Parliament*, or not founded on *Precedents*, and the *Practice of our Ancestors*, is it to be supposed that no Objection would have been made to it? — Would that Majority, which has so long supported the *honourable Gentleman*, have suffer'd it to be brought to a Question? — Would They not, in that Case, have defended Him with their *Arguments*, against so unheard of a
Pro-

Proceeding in *Parliament*, as well as with their *Votes*, in which alone They placed his Defence?

He then endeavour'd to cajole the *landed Gentlemen*, as He has always done upon such Occasions, by telling Them " that 8,000,000 *l.* of the Debt had " actually been discharged out of Moneys arising " from the *Sinking Fund*, and 7,000,000 *l.* " more, at least, had gone in Ease of the *Land*, " which must have borne the Expences that the " *Parliament* had judged necessary for the Service " of the Nation, if it had not been eased by this " Money; and little thought that the giving Relief to the *landed Gentlemen* would have been a " Matter of Charge against Him."

This is just like his little quibbling Distinction, several Years ago, between *Debts incurr'd* and *Debts increased*. If by his wise and frugal Management, the Debts of the Nation amounted to 51,000,000 *l.* of which about 5,000,000 *l.* were paid off in the Year 1725, as I said before, and are still about 48,000,000 *l.* how could He affirm that 8,000,000 *l.* of the Debt had actually been paid off; for can it be said, either in publick or private Life, that paying off some Part of an *old Debt*, and at the same Time contracting *new ones*, is any Diminution of the Debt in general?

The Case of the 7,000,000 *l.* which are said to have gone in Ease of the *Land*, is much of the same Nature, and, according to the old Proverb, is *robbing of Peter to pay Paul*; for in order to gratify some *Country Gentlemen* in the *House of Commons*, for his own Interest and Support, He diverted the original Design of the *Sinking Fund*, which was the gradual Reduction of our Debt, and kept

kept Us loaded with several burthensome Duties on the common Necessaries and Conveniencies of Life. I shall only mention one remarkable Instance; which is the *Revival of the Salt Duty*, after it had been taken off for little more than one Year, for the Ease of the Poor, in Pursuance of a gracious Recommendation from the Throne. The heavy Duties upon *Soap, Candles, and Leather*, might likewise have been redeem'd before this Time, had the *Sinking Fund* been properly apply'd to the Uses, for which it was first establish'd, and strictly appropriated.—But the *honourable Gentleman* has found that our Debts and Taxes, which employ such a vast Multitude of *dependent Officers*, in the Collection and Disposition of the *Revenue*, so necessary to his Continuance in Power, that He seems resolv'd not to pay off any Part of *one*, or to redeem any of the *other*, during *his Administration*. To justify all which, He has constantly Recourse to his old exploded Apology, whether any of these Things are right or wrong, just or unjust, that *He has done Nothing without the Direction or Approbation of Parliament*; That is, by *directing* his own Creatures there to *direct* Him, and to approve of every Thing He does; like a certain *Middlesex Justice*, famous for making *learned and elegant Charges* to the *Grand Jury*, who *desires* the *Foreman* to *desire* Him to print them, and puffs them in the *News Papers* at his own Expence.

We now come to the *Management of the War*, on which the *honourable Gentleman* said, “ that at
 “ first it was propos'd to set apart select Days for
 “ Examination into the Conduct of it; but after
 “ Those, who had taken so much Pains to find out
 “ Faults, could prove Nothing particular against
 “ Him,

“ Him, They thought it necessary to charge Him
“ with *accumulative Facts*.”

When *secret Committees*, and *Papers* are refused by the *ministerial Influence of the Person*, whose *Measures* have long occasion'd such loud Complaints, not without visible, and notorious Reasons, the *Parliament* has no other Way to do Justice to their Country, but by charging Him with *accumulative Facts*. I do not pretend to justify this Method of Proceeding, in Cases of *High Treason*, or other *high Crimes*, where the *Life, Liberty, or Estate of the Person accused*, is concern'd. For this Reason, the *Impeachment and Execution of the Earl of Strafford*, in the Reign of *King Charles the First*, upon such Kind of Proof, has been generally condemn'd by all moderate and impartial Men; though He was certainly a very *dangerous and oppressive Minister*. But *accumulative Proof*, founded upon *publick Fame*, and a Multitude of *known Facts*, is fully sufficient for an *humble Address to remove a Minister from his Majesty's Councils*.

Another Plea of the *honourable Gentleman* was,
“ that *all, or most of the Facts*, supposing them to
“ be culpable, had been the Acts either of the
“ *Parliament or Council*, of which He was but
“ *One*, and that all Others concern'd were equally
“ guilty with Himself.”

But This is not true; for several Persons may be induced to join in Measures, under *plausible Pretences*, without being let into the *secret Negotiation* of them, or the End propos'd by the *supreme Minister*. This was allow'd to be good Doctrine by the *honourable Gentleman* Himself, not
only

only when He impeach'd the late Earl of Oxford, but long since, when He publicly took the whole Merits, or Demerits of the *Convention* upon Himself, and declared that *He alone was answerable for it*. He scorn'd to make Use of the mean, common Excuses of *Ministers*, that *They act by their Master's Orders*. He call'd it a frivolous Pretence, to say that a *Minister is accountable only for his own Conduct in a particular Department, being likewise answerable for all the Errors, which the Crown may commit by his Advice, Approbation, or Consent*.

He told Us, "that though the *Patriots*, had first
 " christen'd Him *sole Minister*, and afterwards
 " perswaded the People to call Him so, yet *no*
 " Proof had been offer'd to support their Abuse
 " and Scandal."

What other, or what stronger Proof can possibly be produced of This, than his visible Ascendency over every *Minister*; I will not say over *all of Them together*? — How otherwise could He have it in his Power to *place, displace, bestow Honours, Titles, and other Rewards*, just as He pleases? It will be said, I know, that whatever He has done of this kind was only in Obedience to his *royal Master's Orders, and Directions*. This is assuming all the Merit of popular Actions to Himself, as He has often done, and throwing the Odium of Those, which are unpopular, upon his *Master*. Besides it is no more than what *any Minister* may say, however absolute, such as *Wolsey*, or *Buckingham* for Instance, and therefore deserves no farther Answer.

He likewise ask'd, " What He had done, during all this Time of his *great Power*, more than any other Person, at the Head of the *Treasury* and in equal Credit with the *Board*, would have done? Would not any Man in that Station have given the *Auditor's* Place to his own Son, and have otherwise provided for his Family?"

It must be confess'd natural for any Man to have a paternal Regard for his Family; but some Bounds ought to be put to it. The *Charge* against Him, was not that He had *made a Provision* for Them, but that He had done it in an *exorbitant Manner*. I have already shewn, that it is not only his *own Places*, and the *Auditor's*, but several others of the most *lucrative Employments* in the Kingdom, which He has bestow'd upon Them, besides the *immense Treasures*, which He has amass'd to Himself, by *secret Methods*. Would every Man in his Office do the same? Did the late Earls of *Godolphin*, and *Oxford*, make such a voracious Use of *their Power*? Or is there no Man in the Kingdom, of as great Abilities, who would not be contented with much *less Acquisitions*? I hope We are not yet reduced to so melancholy a Situation; though, God knows, the *Contagion of Corruption* and *Avarice* hath of late Years been industriously spread throughout these Kingdoms, and with too much Effect; but it is the common Practice both of Men and Women, who have lost their Credit and Characters, to represent every Body as bad as Themselves.

" After all, said the honourable Gentleman, what is this *excessive sole Power*? — How has it discover'd itself; or how has it been proved?"

F

I think

I think the *latter Part* has been sufficiently explain'd already ; but since He has been pleased to ask what this *excessive sole Power* is, I will endeavour to give Him a little Satisfaction.

Whenever a *Minister* gets not only Credit with *his Master*, but engrosses his Ear in such a Manner as to exclude all other Persons, who were disagreeable to Him, from offering his *Majesty* their Advice, and even to procure their Disgrace, as soon as They oppose any of his Measures ; when He rides *triumphant in the Administration*, and appears more like a *Vice-Roy*, or a *Grand Vizir*, than a *Minister*, holding the Reins of Government, as it were, in his Hands, controuling every Thing, browbeating every Body at Pleasure, even Persons of the highest Rank and Distinction ; Him I call a *sole and absolute Minister of excessive Power*, let Him domineer in *Turkey*, *France* or any other *Country*, which thinks itself *free*. But most unhappy are those People, who are reduced from a *State of Liberty*, their natural Inheritance, and govern'd with such a *Rod of Iron*.

These were the *principal Heads of the Charge*, and the *honourable Gentleman's Defence*, as far as I can recollect them ; for the *House* sat so late, as He complain'd Himself, and the *Members* were so much fatigued, that it was impossible to give a strict Attention, or to carry every Part of it home in one's Memory. But let Him or his *Advocates* triumph, as much as They please, upon his *Victory*, it will rather cast a *Reflection* upon the *Parliament*, than do Him any *Honour*. As for the Numbers on his Side, it is ridiculous to boast of Them ; for does not every Body know that there were
above

above *two hundred Placemen and Pensioners* in the *last Parliament*, who must follow their *Leader*; or be turn'd out of their *Employments and Salaries*? — Is it not likewise reasonable to suppose that He secretly rais'd some *new Levies*, call'd *Jobb-men*, upon this important Occasion; for so, no Doubt, He looks upon it, more than if the whole Nation was at the Brink of Destruction.

Setting aside this *mercenary Band* therefore, the Victory was not so compleat as it is ostentatiously represented. Can it be thought that the *Gentlemen on the other Side* could have any great Hopes of Success, considering this *ministerial Corps de Garde*? No; They did it to testify their Regard for the *Honour of their King*, and the *Good of their Country*, which They apprehended to be in imminent Danger, from a long Course of *Mal-Administration*. They did it to prove They were in earnest, and to distinguish Themselves from *Those*, who have openly or secretly supported the *Author of it*. The Attempt was glorious, though it did not succeed; which can be imputed only to the Causes before-mention'd. But it will endear Them to all *true Englishmen*, and deliver down their Names with Honour to Posterity.

I shall conclude this *Review of the Motion* with a *short Address to the Electors of Great Britain*.

GENTLEMEN,

THE *Parliament* being now dissolved, and the *Election of new Representatives* succeeding, on which the Fate of the Nation so essentially depends, I shall offer You a few seasonable and friendly Considerations, at this important and critical Conjunction.

F 2

You

You cannot be ignorant of the *Conduct* of the *last Parliament*, which has brought so many Burthens upon You, by a *slavish* and, I am afraid, a *corrupt Dependence upon one Man*. Do You not feel them by the *present Poverty*, reigning in all Parts of the Kingdom, and the *excessive Dearness of Provisions*, which amounts almost to a Famine?— Do not let any Man persuade You that all This is owing to the Rigour of *one bad Winter*; for God has bless'd Us with several plentiful Harvests; but a few *Court Locusts* have suck'd up the Dew of the Earth, and wallow'd in *Luxury* upon the Fruits of your Labour and Industry. It is owing to the vast Multiplicity of *Taxes* and *Duties*, which have raised the Price of almost all the Necessaries and Conveniencies of Life to such an excessive Height, that even some Gentlemen of Estates, as well as the middling Sort of People, find it extremely difficult to support Themselves and their Families; and the Poor can scarce keep Themselves from starving.— Are You not all made sensible of This, in every Commodity You buy?— Do You not feel it in *Candles, Soap, Leather, Starch*, to mention no more? I do not say that all *these Taxes* were laid on by the *last Parliament*, or occasion'd by the *present Minister*; but if the *Sinking Fund* had been properly apply'd to the *Payment of the national Debt*, some of the most grievous of *these Duties* might have been taken off; and then it would have been in your Power to keep your Families at almost half the Rate.— Why has it not been done, since it might have been easily done?— Because they were found necessary to support the Expence of a Band of *mercenary Dependents*, and the Interest of a *lavish Minister*.— You cannot forget that the *Salt-Duty* was taken off for the *Ease of the Poor*;

Poor; but it was soon revived upon that Account only.

I do but just touch upon these Heads; because I have mention'd most of them before, and none of You can be insensible of the Weight of them. — To these are owing the deplorable *Decay of Trade*, and the *Want of Labour*, because You cannot afford to pay your *Workmen* so much Wages as You used to do, and They cannot live cheaper, which is entirely owing to this Cause. For if some of *these grievous Duties* were taken off, the Cheapness of Provisions would make both the *Master-Workman* and the *Labourer* easy.

This is the true Source of all the *late Riots* and *Tumults*, which have disturbed several Parts of *England* for some Time past. They did not arise from any *Disaffection to the present Government*, or *Ill-Will to their Masters*, as some Persons are willing to make it believed, but were chiefly occasion'd by *Necessity*, which has no Law.

It is therefore the Interest of all *Manufacturers*, *Tradesmen* and *Others*, who have a Vote in any City, Borough, or Corporation, to give it to *those Gentlemen*, who have often labour'd to relieve Them, and may still be able, with their Assistance, to do it; not to throw it away upon *Those*, who obstructed their Endeavours, for several Years, and render'd them ineffectual.

I know it is in vain to preach up this Doctrine in several *little Boroughs*, which are immediately under the *Power of the Minister*; for many honest Men are sometimes obliged to give up their Consciences, for Fear of losing their Bread; as
Others

Others will do it for a little sordid and corrupt Gain.

But I hope that all of You, who are in any Manner *independent*, and gain an honest Livelihood by your Industry, will scorn to take a paltry Bribe from any Man, who has already sold You, like Sheep, at a *Court-Market*, and will certainly do so again.—— What signifies a few straggling Guineas, which will soon melt away from You like Snow, in Comparison of the solid and lasting Friendship of a *neighbouring Gentleman*, who deals with You, esteems You, and perhaps will support You in Case of Distress.

Chuse *such Men* your *Representatives*; but if You can find none in your Neighbourhood, who are willing to *serve in Parliament*, take their Advice and Recommendation of proper Persons for *that great Trust*; and do not put your Liberties in the Hands of any *little Upstarts*, who go *hawking and peddling* about the Country for a *Borough*, as the sure Way to get Preferment.

But above all, chuse no Man, who is known to have lavish'd away his Fortune, and comes to You with a modest Petition, and perhaps a little Gold, that You would be pleased to elect Him your *Representative*, in order to *serve his Country*, and keep Himself out of Gaol.

I can assure You, *Gentlemen*, that there is a *little Army* of these *worthy Candidates* now on the March, with Instructions to take different Routes, and attack your *Boroughs* with *T——y Artillery*. For You must know, that when these *septennial Wars* draw near, the *Commander in Chief* sits down at
his

his Desk, draws the *Plan of Operation for the Campaign*, and appoints his *Officers*, without any Distinction whether They are *Veterans* or *raw unexperienced Boys*, provided They are well recommended, and promise to *obey Command*. He then sends Them to their *particular Posts*, with *proper Ammunition*, whilst He generally continues at his *HEAD QUARTERS*; and his *Aides des Camps* are continually passing backwards and forwards, to bring Him an Account of the Success of every Battle.

You cannot imagine what prodigious Exploits this little Army has perform'd. I have known two or three hundred of Them plunder a whole Country, and put Chains about the Necks of Millions of People, both Friends and Foes. But it must be observed, that They keep another formidable Army in constant Pay, to support and protect Them, in Case of Necessity. It ought to be remember'd, to their immortal Honour, that their *Generalissimo*, having been lately attack'd in his strong Entrenchments, was very seasonably relieved by this trusty Guard, who brought Him off with flying Colours, though not without several desperate Wounds. You must all have heard of this famous Engagement, and therefore I shall not enter into a minute Relation of the particular Circumstances of it.

It is against these *Hussars* that You are to exert all your Force, and I hope will unite your utmost Endeavours in this important Crisis. I am very glad to hear, from several Parts of the Kingdom, that great Numbers of You have taken this glorious Resolution; and it is my earnest Wish that no *Artifices* or *Considerations* whatsoever may divert You from it.

I make

I make no Doubt that Applications of all Kinds have been already made to You ; such as *soothing Promises, distant Menaces* and the *Importunity of your Friends, Acquaintance, and Relations*, who may happen to be in the *contrary Interest* ; but for God's Sake, *Gentlemen*, reject them all, and prefer the Glory of *saving a sinking Nation*, which depends wholly upon You, and calls aloud for *your Assistance*.

Besides the *illegal Practices* before-mention'd, I must put You in Mind of some others, of a more criminal and pernicious Nature, which strike at the very Root of *free Elections*, and the *Independency of Parliament*.

One of them is the *suborning a sufficient Number of false Pollers* to carry an Election against any Majority of *Those*, who have a *just and undoubted Right*. This is commonly practis'd by the *Court-Party* ; for if any *Gentlemen on the other Side* should be wicked enough to do the same, it would be of no Service to Them, since the strictest Scrutiny would be made to detect Them ; whereas a thousand Arts would be try'd to screen and countenance the *Others*.

But there is still a *worse Practice* than This, which deserves the severest Punishment ; I mean, *bribing the RETURNING OFFICER*, which defeats the *End of Elections* ; for whenever That is the Case, and an *infamous Fellow* has taken a Bribe to *return* whomsoever his *Paymaster* directs, whether fairly chosen or not ; to what Purpose is any *Election at all* ; or what can induce a *Country Gentleman* to give Himself the Trouble of *standing Candidate*, when

when it is known, or there are Reasons to suspect, that He will be treated in this Manner? — It is only mere Farce and Form, and turning *Elections* into Ridicule.

But the *Patrons* and *Advocates* for Corruption will say, no Doubt, that an *Officer*, who makes a *false Return*, is liable to a heavy, pecuniary Penalty, which is sufficient to deter Them from such an hazardous Engagement.

But is it not a very difficult Matter to discover and convict Them in a legal Manner? — Such villainous Contracts as these are always transacted in the Dark; and can it be supposed that either the *Corruptor* or the *Corrupted* will betray one another in so flagitious a Crime, which it is their mutual Interest to conceal? For if one of these vile Criminals should happen, by some Accident, to be discover'd, there would not be wanting *Court Lawyers* to defend Them by a thousand Quirks. — They might bespatter the Character of the *Informers*; and *Witnesses* might be brought to prove that his Evidence ought not to be taken in a Case of this Consequence. — They may farther alledge that the Money was not given nor received as a *Bribe* for a *false Return*, but as a *Present*, *Money lent*, or as a *Gratification* for some particular Service; with several other Pleas of the same Kind, which are often to be heard in *Westminster-Hall*.

It may be said again, by these worthy *Advocates*, that the *Party aggrieved* has a farther Remedy, by petitioning the *House of Commons*, and complaining of an *undue Election*. — But alas! whoever considers some *Proceedings* there, upon controverted *Elections*, cannot flatter Himself with the Hopes of

much Success, if He is known, or suspected, to be no Admirer of a *predominant Minister*. — His Cause may be put off under several Pretences, for *three* or *four Sessions*, till He is wearied out with Trouble and Expence to withdraw it; or if He should have Resolution enough to press it on, every Body knows that these Determinations are too often govern'd more by *Favour* and *Interest* than the *true Merits of the Cause*.

That *all these illegal and iniquitous Methods* have been practised by several Ministers, in former Reigns, is beyond all Possibility of Dispute; but I hope all Complaints of Them at present are without Foundation; though it is confidently reported that a *great Personage* has declared that a *certain honourable Gentleman* should NOT BE RETURN'D from a *Borough*, in which He has a natural Interest; and that an Attempt of this Kind was lately made upon the *Returning Officer* at *Taunton*, has not been contradicted, as far as I have heard. — But by whom the *Bribe* was offer'd, or by whose Direction it came, I cannot pretend to say.

This, *Gentlemen*, being therefore the Case, it behoves You, if You have any true Regard for your Country, to exert Yourselves, with all your Might, in support of *those Gentlemen*, whom You think worthy of that high Trust; and elect Them by as great a Majority as possible; for You see what Disadvantages They will lye under, even supposing They should be *return'd*. A *little Majority* of *five* or *six* may be easily whittled away from any Member, at the *weeding of the House*, if the *ministerial Party* should prevail there; and therefore let Me exhort You to send Them up by such a Majority as will make Them ashamed of such scandalous Proceedings. . . . Con-

Consider likewise another great Advantage of the *Court Candidates* over Those, who oppose Them; I mean the vast Number of *dormant Informations* against *Smugglers*, which are always hung up in *Terrorem*, and may be either remitted or prosecuted in the strictest Manner, just as They behave Themselves at an *Election*; nor will any Length of Time put a Stop to these Prosecutions; it being a Maxim of our Law, *nullum Tempus occurrit Regi*.

It is well known that this very Article hath been of great Use to *Ministers* in former *Elections*; and the *Act* against *Retailers of spirituous Liquors* will furnish Them with the same Advantage.

The Right of *quartering Soldiers*, wherever an *all-powerful Minister* pleases, and in what Number He pleases, is another additional Strength to this Party; and, considering the vast Number of Forces We have now on Foot, may have a great Influence upon the *Elections*, in the present great Scarcity and Dearness of Provisions; for if one *Borough* should refuse a *Recommendation*, as it is call'd, from the T——y, They may be humbled by a *Troop of Horse or Dragoons*, in Ease of another that is more tractable.—Such Things have likewise been done, and who can answer that they will never be done again?

The innumerable Swarms of *Excisemen, Custom-house Officers, and Workmen in our Dock-Yards*, which surround our whole Coast, throw another prodigious Weight into the same Scale; and if the late *Act* for registering *Seamen, and all Persons getting their Livelibood upon the Waters*, had pass'd, as it was originally design'd, and brought into the *House of Commons*, Nothing could have withstood the Power of the Crown.

In short, it is impossible to enumerate all the particular Instances of this Kind; and therefore it is incumbent upon Those, who wish well to their Country, who do not lie under the *Loss of the Law*, and are in no Danger of losing their Bread, by following the Dictates of their Consciences, to unite more closely, in order to counterbalance and defeat such a *formidable and compacted Phalanx*.

Do not let This discourage You, *Gentlemen*, from making a vigorous Attempt against Them. The strongest Confederacies have been sometimes broke by small Parties, who have acted with Spirit and Resolution; especially when They have been animated by the *Cause of Liberty*. But You, to whom I address Myself, are so far from being a *small Party*, that You compose the *collective Body of the People*, and, if united, might easily get the better of *those Harpies*, who prey upon You and devour You.

Amongst other Things, let Me advise You to keep a strict Eye upon Those of Them, whom the Wisdom of our Laws has prohibited, under severe Penalties, to *intermeddle or concern Themselves, directly or indirectly, in the Election of any Member of Parliament*; yet They are known to do it almost publicly, I mean the *Officers of the Customs, Excise and Post-Office*, who are spread through the whole Kingdom, and have more Power to do Mischief than any other Set of Men, except Those who employ Them. If any of Them should presume to corrupt your Honesty, reject their Offers, and do your utmost Endeavours to bring them to Justice. Informations of this kind are so far from being dishonourable, that they are highly meritorious and justifiable, both by the Laws of God and Man, particularly by the express Laws of our own Country made for that Purpose. Do

Do not suffer Yourself to be deluded by that old thread-bare Cant that the present Struggle is nothing but a Contention amongst *great Men* for *Places*, and that, whoever succeeds the *present Men in Power*, You'll be just in the same Condition, or perhaps in a worse than You now are.

Every Man ought to be judged by his Works, as a Tree is known by its Fruit, and not accused of Actions, which He never committed, and which His Heart may possibly abhor. This Method of arraigning, condemning, and passing Sentence beforehand, is absolutely contrary to all the Rules of Religion, Morality and common Justice. The true Point with You is, whether You have been govern'd *well* or *ill*. If you think that you have been *well govern'd*, You are justify'd in your Consciences to vote for Those, to whom You owe this Blessing. But if You feel the Effects of *ill Government*, what can induce You not to make one hearty Struggle against the *Author of your Oppression*?— If one of *your own private Servants* should rob You, and abuse his Trust, would You continue Him in your Service, for Fear of having *another* as bad; or would You not search all the Country round in Hopes of getting a *better*? The Case is exactly parallel, as far as Comparisons will hold between *publick* and *private Affairs*; and the *best Writers upon Government* have explain'd the Analogy between them; nay even founded all *publick Government* upon the original Relation and Duties between a *Father and his Children*.

You perceive, Gentlemen, that *this Address* is chiefly confined to the *Electors in Cities, Boroughs, and Corporations*, who are most liable to *such Applications* as I have mention'd; but it extends likewise

wise to the *Freeholders* qualify'd to vote for *Counties*, who are so numerous, and dispersed in such a Manner, as to make it very difficult to corrupt a sufficient Number of Them to vote as They are order'd; though it cannot be forgot that notable Attempts were made the *last Election*, in some of the *largest and most considerable Counties*, to spread the same pernicious Influence amongst Them. But, to their Honour be it spoken, it proved in vain, and rather excited their Zeal than abated it, and ended in the Confusion of *Those*, who endeavour'd to seduce Them from their natural Sentiments.

The Interest of the *Freeholders* and *Burgesses* is certainly mutual and inseparable, and *one* cannot suffer without the *other*. They *both* have a Right to the *same Liberties*; They *both* feel the *same Grievances*; and must stand or fall together. I therefore chose to comprehend Them under the same Denomination of *Electors*; and hope They will heartily unite in the same Cause.

I must not here forget the *Nomination of Sheriffs*, and especially the modern Practice of *Pocket Sheriffs*, which gives the *Court Party* a very great Advantage, and often turns the Fate of *Elections*.

I have purposely avoided any Mention of the *Gentlemen* and *Clergy*, who by their Education, and Opportunities of Enquiry, are so well acquainted with the *true Nature of our Constitution*, and the *present State of our Affairs*, that it would be an impertinent Piece of Presumption in Me to offer Them any Advice; nor can it be doubted that They will endeavour to inculcate the sound Principles of *Liberty*, as well as *Religion*, into the Minds of their respective *Tenants, Neighbours* and *Parishioners*.

Having

Having thus laid before You a plain and, I think, an impartial Account of the *late Motion*, and the *Reasons for it*, I shall conclude the Whole with a short, humble and affectionate Expostulation to You all.

YOU are now left to judge for Yourselfs, whether it was not become necessary, for the Redress of *our Grievances*, the Preservation of *our Liberties*, and his *Majesty's Honour*, which were all essentially concern'd in the Event of this Debate.— You cannot help seeing the present melancholy Situation of our Affairs, both at home and abroad, as well as *Who* is properly *answerable for it*.— You see who are your *real Friends*, and have taken indefatigable Pains to serve You.— They have actually redress'd some of your Grievances, and prevented others; which would have been imposed upon You, had it not been for their inflexible Regard and Devotion to your Interest.— In the main Point, indeed, They have miscarry'd; and how could it be otherwise, considering the *Character and Complexion of the last Parliament*, which was crowded with such a Number of *Placemen, Pensioners and other Dependents* as amounted almost to a Majority?

But now your Relief is in your own Hands, if you take a proper Advantage of this Opportunity and do not suffer yourselves to be *corrupted, intimidated, or disunited*; but if You mistake your Interest so far as to neglect it, You may soon find your Burthens increased rather than lighten'd, and instead of being pity'd, be insulted and despised.

Consider, O! *my Countrymen*, when the Yoke is once put about the Neck of a *free People*, how difficult it is to shake it off again. Do not You remember the *Fable of the Horse and the Man*, which was to this Effect? The *Man* desired the *Horse* to let Him put a Saddle upon his Back, and a Bridle

in his Mouth; to which the *Horse* foolishly consented, and the *Man*, having mounted Him, gallop'd away; from which Time that *free Creature* was made a *Beast of Burthen*.

Non Equitem dorso, non frænum depulit ore.

Take Heed therefore, that You are not imposed upon, like this *silly Horse*; for if You once suffer an *insolent Minister* to ride upon your *Backs*, it will be no easy Matter to make Him dismount.

Look round *Europe*, and You will find that all the States of it were formerly *free*; and yet most of Them are now reduced to *Slavery*, by the same ridiculous Concessions, and will hardly ever be able to recover their *antient Liberties*.

We still boast of being a *free People*. Let us prove Ourselves so by our Actions, and not suffer Ourselves to be bribed, led, or driven out of our *Liberties*; but strenuously maintain that glorious Inheritance, which was deliver'd down to Us by our Ancestors, at the Expence of so much Blood and Treasure.

I must tell You, plainly, *Gentlemen*, that in my poor Apprehension there never was a greater Occasion for exerting Yourselves than at the *present Crisis*; and perhaps You may never have such another Opportunity. Think of it well; consider calmly and seriously the *present State of the Nation*; weigh all the Arguments on *both Sides* impartially; and I hope God will inspire your Hearts to act that Part, which is most for the HONOUR OF THE KING, the PROSPERITY OF HIS ROYAL FAMILY, and the TRUE INTEREST OF YOUR COUNTRY.

F I N I S

Page 11, Line 19. for *doing* read *doing it*. P. 20, L. 4. for *secret*. P. 33, L. 3. after *but* add *one*, when. P. 48, L. 2. for *at* read *all*.



